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From the Boſton Gazette, March 6.

To the INHABITANTS of the Colony of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

MY FRIENDS,

THE ſentiments of your anceſtors in the Maſſachuſetts may be learned from almoſt every ancient paper and record.—It would be endleſs to recite all the paſſages, in which it appears that they thought themſelves exempt from the authority of parliament, not only in the point of taxation, but in all caſes whatſoever.—Let me mention one. Randolph, one of the predeceſſors of Maſſachuſetteſſis, in a repreſentation to Charles II, dated 20th September, 1676, ſays, "I went to viſit the governor at his houſe, and among other diſcourſe, I told him, I took notice of ſeveral ſhips that were arrived at Boſton, ſome ſince my being here, from Spain, France, Streights, Canaries, and other parts of Europe, contrary to your Majeſty's laws for encouraging Navigation and regulating the trade of the plantations. He freely declared to me, that the law made by your Majeſty and your parliament obligeth them in nothing but what conſiſts with the intereſt of that colony, that the legiſlative power is and abides in them ſolely to act and make laws by virtue of a Charter from your Majeſty's royal father."—Here is a poſitive aſſertion of an exemption from the authority of parliament, even in the caſe of the Regulation of Trade.

Afterwards in 1677, The General Court paſſed a law, which ſhews the ſenſe of our anceſtors in a very ſtrong light.—It is in theſe words. "This court being informed, by letters received this day from our meſſengers, of his Majeſty's expectation that the acts of Trade and Navigation be exactly and punctually obſerved by this his Majeſty's colony, his pleaſure therein not having before now, ſignified unto us, either by expreſs from his Majeſty, or any of his miniſters of ſtate; It is therefore hereby ordered, and by the authority of this court enacted, that henceforth, all maſters of ſhips, ketches, or other veſſels, of greater or leſſer burthen, arriving in, or ſailing from any of the ports in this juriſdiction, do, without coven, or fraud, yield faithful and conſtant obedience unto, and obſervation of, all the ſaid acts of navigation and trade, on penalty of ſuffering ſuch forfeitures, loſs and damage as in the ſaid acts are particularly expreſſed. And the governor and council, and all officers, commiſſionated and authorized by them, are hereby ordered and required to ſee to the ſtrict obſervation of the ſaid acts."—As ſoon as they had paſſed this law, they wrote a letter to their agent, in which they acknowledge they had not conformed to the acts of trade; and they ſay, they apprehended them to be an invaſion of the rights, liberties and properties of the ſubjects of his Majeſty in the colony, they not being repreſented in parliament, and according to the uſual ſayings of the learned in the law, *the laws of England were bounded within the four ſeas, and did not reach America.* However, as his Majeſty had ſignified his pleaſure, that theſe acts ſhould be obſerved in the Maſſachuſetts, they had made proviſion by a law of the colony, that they ſhould be ſtrictly attended from time to time, although it greatly diſcouraged trade, and was a great damage to his Majeſty's plantation."

Thus it appears, that the ancient Maſſachuſettenſians and Virginians, had preciſely the ſame ſenſe of the authority of parliament, viz. that it had none at all: and the ſame ſenſe of the neceſſity, that by the voluntary act of the colonies, their free chearful conſent, it ſhould be allowed the power of regulating trade: and this is preciſely the idea of the late Congreſs at Philadelphia, expreſſed in the fourth propoſition in their Bill of Rights.

But this was the ſenſe of the parent country too, at that time; for K. Charles II. in a letter to the Maſſachuſetts, after this law had been laid before him, has theſe words, "We are informed "that you have lately made *ſome good proviſion* "for obſerving the acts of trade and navigation, "which is well pleaſing unto us."—Had he, or his miniſters an idea that parliament was the ſovereign legiſlative over the Colony? If he had, would he not have cenſured this law as an inſult to that legiſlature?

I ſincerely hope, we ſhall ſee no more ſuch round affirmations, that it was the ſenſe of the parent country and our anceſtors, that they were to remain ſubject to parliament.

So far from thinking themſelves ſubject to parliament, that during the Interregnum, it was their deſire and deſign to have been a free common wealth, an independent Republic; and after the reſtoration, it was with the utmoſt reluctance, that in the courſe of 16 or 17 years, they were bro't to take the oaths of allegiance: and for ſome time after this, they inſiſted upon taking an oath of fidelity to the Country, before that of allegiance to the King.

That "it is evident from the Charter itſelf," that they were to remain ſubject to parliament, is very unaccountable, when there is not one word in either Charter concerning parliament.

That the authority of parliament has been exerciſed almoſt ever ſince the ſettlement of the country, is a miſtake; for there is no inſtance, until the firſt Navigation Act, which was in 1660, more than 40 years after the firſt ſettlement.—This act was never executed or regarded, until 17 years afterwards, and then it was not executed as an act of parliament, but as a law of the colony, to which the king agreed.

"This has been expreſly acknowledged by our Provincial Legiſlatures." There is too much truth in this.—It has been twice acknowledged by our Houſe of Repreſentatives, that parliament was the ſupreme legiſlative; but this was directly repugnant to a multitude of other votes by which it was denied.—This was in conformity to the diſtinction between taxation and legiſlation, which has been ſince found to be a diſtinction without a difference.

When a great queſtion is firſt ſtarted, there are very few, even of the greateſt minds, which ſuddenly and intuitively comprehend it, in all its conſequences.

It is both "our intereſt and our duty to continue ſubject to the authority of parliament," as far as the regulation of our trade, if it will be content with that, but no longer.

"If the colonies are not ſubject to the authority of parliament, Great-Britain and the colonies muſt be diſtinct ſtates, as compleatly ſo as England and Scotland were before the union, or as Great-Britain and Hanover are now:"—There is no need of being ſtartled at this conſequence.—It is very harmleſs.—There is no abſurdity at all in it.—Diſtinct ſtates may be united under one king.—And thoſe ſtates may be further cemented and united together, by a treaty of commerce.—This is the caſe. We have by our own expreſs conſent contracted to obſerve the navigation act, and by our implied conſent, by long uſage and uninterrupted acquieſcence, have ſubmitted to the other acts of trade, however grievous ſome of them may be. This may be compared to a treaty of commerce, by which thoſe diſtinct ſtates are cemented together, in perpetual league and amity. And if any further ratifications of this pact or treaty are neceſſary, the colonies would readily enter into them, provided their other liberties were inviolate.

That the colonies owe "no allegiance" to any imperial crown, provided ſuch a crown involves in it an houſe of lords and a houſe of commons, is certain.—Indeed we owe no allegiance to any crown at all.—We owe allegiance to the perſon of his majeſty king George the third, whom God preſerve.—But allegiance is due univerſally, both from Britons and Americans to the perſon of the king, not to his crown: to his natural, not his politic capacity: as I will undertake to prove hereafter, from the higheſt authorities, and moſt ſolemn adjudications, which were ever made within any part of the Britiſh Dominions.

If his Majeſty's title to the crown, is "derived from an act of parliament made ſince the ſettlement of theſe Colonies," it was not made ſince the date of our charter.—Our charter was granted by king William and Queen Mary, three years after the revolution.—And the oaths of allegiance are eſtabliſhed by a law of the province.—So that our allegiance to his majeſty is not due by virtue of any act of a Britiſh parliament, but by our own charter and province laws.—It ought to be remembered, that there was a revolution here as well as in England, and that we made an original, expreſs contract with king William, as well as the people of England.

If it follows from thence, that he appears king of the Maſſachuſetts, king of Rhode-Iſland, king of Connecticut, &c. This is no abſurdity at all.—He will appear in this light, and does appear ſo, whether parliament has authority over us or not.—He is king of Ireland, I ſuppoſe, although parliament is allowed to have authority there.—As to giving his Majeſty theſe titles, I have no objection at all: I wiſh he would be graciouſly pleaſed to aſſume them.

The only propoſition, in all this writer's long ſtring of pretended abſurdities, which he ſays follow from the poſition, that we are diſtinct ſtates, is this,—That "as the king muſt govern each ſtate by its parliament, thoſe ſeveral parliaments would purſue the particular intereſt of its own ſtate and however well diſpoſed the king might be to purſue a line of intereſt that was common to all, the checks and controul that he would meet with, would render it impoſſible."—Every argument ought to be allowed its full weight: and, therefore candor obliges me to acknowledge, that here lies all the difficulty that there is in this whole controverſy.—There has been, from firſt to laſt, on both ſides of the atlantic, an idea, an apprehenſion that it was neceſſary, there ſhould be ſome ſuperintending power, to draw together all the wills, and unite all the ſtrength of the ſubjects in all the dominions, in caſe of war, and in the caſe of trade. The neceſſity of this, in caſe of trade, has been ſo apparent, that, as has often been ſaid, we have conſented that parliament ſhould exerciſe ſuch a power.—In caſe of war, it has by ſome been thought neceſſary.—But in fact and experience, it has not been found ſo. What tho' the proprietary colonies, on account of diſputes with the proprietors, did not come in ſo early to the aſſiſtance of the general cauſe in the laſt war, as they ought, and perhaps one of them not at all! The inconveniences of this were ſmall, in compariſon of the abſolute ruin to the liberties of all which muſt follow the ſubmiſſion to parliament, in all caſes, which would be giving up all the popular limitations upon the government.—Theſe inconveniences fell chiefly upon New-England——She was neceſſitated to greater exertions: But ſhe had rather ſuffer theſe again and again, than others infinitely greater.—However this ſubject has been ſo long in contemplation, that it is fully underſtood now, in all the colonies: ſo that there is no danger in caſe of another war, of any colonies failing of its duty.

But admitting the propoſition in its full force, that it is abſolutely neceſſary there ſhould be a ſupreme power, coextenſive with all the dominions, will it follow that parliament as now conſtituted has a right to aſſume this ſupreme juriſdiction? By no means.

A union of the colonies might be projected, and an American legiſlature: or if America has 3,000,000 people, and the whole dominions twelve, ſhe ought to ſend a quarter part of all the members to the houſe of commons, and inſtead of holding parliaments

(*For the remainder, ſee the laſt page.*)

& ſee the whole of the above, with the proper references, & Notes, page 686, &c.

Messieurs HALLS,

You are requested to insert the following Extract from the Life of the ever-memorable Dr. Increase Mather, *Pages* 90, 91, 92.

IN the latter End of the Year 1683, there arrived a *Declaration* from King *Charles* II. with a Signification to the Country, That except they would make a *full Submission, and entire Resignation* of their Charter to his Pleasure, a *Quo Warranto* against it should be prosecuted. The Question was offered unto Mr. *Mather*, whether the Country could without a plain Trespass against Heaven, do what was demanded of them; and in his elaborate Answer to it, he demonstrated, That they would act neither the Part of *good Christians*, nor of *true Englishmen*, if by an Act of theirs they should be accessary to the *Plot* then managing to produce a *general Shipwreck of Liberties*. Communicating his Answer to several of the Magistrates, the Copies thereof came into many Hands; and with so much Efficacy, that the Country was preserved from a *mean Compliance* with the *vile Proposal*. Great was the Rage of Adversaries on this Occasion; and Mr. *Mather* was by *them* called and spited as, *The Mahomet of New-England*. He felt it; but yet so satisfied in the *good Work*, that when the Freemen of *Boston* met on *January* 23, that they might give Instructions to their Deputies for the General Court, and the Deputies with others, desired him to be present, and give them his Thoughts on the *Case of Conscience* before them; he made a short Speech in the Town-House; and *this* was it, as I find it in his own Copy of it.—

"As the Question is now stated, *Whether you will make a full Submission and entire Resignation of your Charter and the Privileges of it, unto his Majesty's Pleasure*, I verily believe, we shall sin against the GOD of Heaven if we vote an Affirmative unto it. The Scripture teacheth us otherwise. We know what Jepthah said, *That which the Lord our God has given us, shall we not possess it!* And though Naboth ran a great Hazard by the Refusal, yet he said, *GOD forbid that I should give away the Inheritance of my Fathers*. Nor would it be *Wisdom* for us to comply. We know *David* made a wise Choice, when he chose to fall into the *Hands of GOD* rather than into the *Hands of Men*. If we make a *full Submission and entire Resignation to Pleasure*, we fall into the *Hands of Men* immediately. But if we do it not, we still keep ourselves in the *Hands of GOD*; we trust ourselves with his Providence; and who knows, what GOD may do for us? There are also Examples before our Eyes, the Consideration whereof should be of Weight with us. * * * * * *

"* What have they gained by being so ready to part with their *Liberties*, but an Acceleration of their *Miseries*? And we hear from *London*, that when it came to, the loyal Citizens would not make a *full Submission and entire Resignation to Pleasure*, lest their Posterity should curse them for it. And shall *we* then do such a Thing? I hope, there is not one Freeman in *Boston*, that can be guilty of it! However, I have discharged my Conscience, in what I have thus declared unto you."

Would such a Speech have been made by a *Danish* or a *Swedish* Clergyman?—Upon this pungent Speech, many of the Freemen fell into Tears; and there was a general Acclamation, *We thank you, Sir! We thank you, Sir!* The Question was upon the Vote carried in the Negative, *nemine contradicente*; and this Act of *Boston* had a great Influence upon all the Country.

LONDON, March 1.

Mr. Alderman Oliver presented a petition from the Society of the Quakers against the Fishery Bill, setting forth, that a great number of innocent persons, in particular in the Island of Nantucket, would be reduced to extreme distress; which petition was referred to the Committee of the whole House on that Bill. Mr. David Barclay was called to the bar, who acquainted the Committee that he was desired by the North-American Merchants to examine several witnesses, in order to prove the allegations of their petition against the fishery bill.—He first called to the bar Mr. Brooke Watson, to prove the state of the New-England fisheries in 1764, by which it appeared that 45,000 tons of shipping, and upwards of 3000 men were employed, and that from a calculation he had then made, the nett produce of said fisheries amounted to 220,000 sterling. That he knew they are since considerably encreased; that it was his opinion that if the New-England fisheries were stopt, that a great part of a valuable trade would be lost to this kingdom, as there were many reasons why the fishery could not be carried on to the same extent and advantage from Great-Britain.

Mr. Stephen Higginson (a native of Salem, in New-England) was then called, and proved, that the colonies of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, did not collectively produce sufficient for the subsistence of their inhabitants, and that they received considerable from the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-York; that there are now employed in the cod fisheries about 700 vessels, from 15 to 70 tons, which carry about 4200 men, and that about one half of that number are employed on shore in curing the fish; that about 350 vessels, from 50 to 180 tons, are employed in conveying the fish to market, which carry about 3000 men; that if the cod fisheries are prohibited, about 10,000 men must be under a necessity of seeking employment; and that, as the major part of them would not settle at Halifax, on account of its being a military Government, they must either stay at home and want bread, emigrate to the southward, or go to the French at Miquelon and St. Pierre; and as many of the inhabitants at and near Marblehead are Portuguese, Dutch, and other foreigners, it was not unlikely but they might easily be induced thereto.

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Williamsburgh, Dec. 24, 1774; laid before the House of Commons, Feb. 15, by Lord North.

"*My necessary absence on the occasion of the Indian disturbances will, I hope, account and excuse me for my not having acknowledged your Lordship's several letters in due time and order; and for not having regularly communicated accounts of the public affairs of the colony, to which some of them refer; and I wish I were now so fortunate as to have it in my power to make a representation of their appearing with a more favourable aspect, than when I last wrote upon those important concerns.*

"*The associations first in part entered into, recommended by the people of this Colony, and adopted by what is called the Continental Congress, are now enforcing throughout this country, with the greatest rigour. A Committee has been chosen in every county, whose business it is to carry the associations of the Congress into execution; which committee assumes an authority to inspect the books, invoices, and all secrets of the trade and correspondence of merchants, to watch the conduct of every inhabitant, without distinction, and to send for all such as come under their suspicion, into their presence, to interrogate them respecting all matters, which at their pleasure, they think fit objects of their inquiry, and to stigmatize, as they term it, such as they find transgressing, what they are now hardy enough to call the lawful Congress; which stigmatizing, is no other than inviting the vengeance of an outrageous and lawless mob, to be executed on the unhappy victims. Every county besides, is now arming a company of men, whom they call an independent company, for the avowed purpose of protecting their Committees, and to be employed against government, if occasion require. The Committee of one county has proceeded so far, as to swear the men of their independent company to execute all orders which shall be given them from the Committee of their county.*

"*As to the power of government, which your Lordship, in your letter No. 11, directs should be exerted to counteract the dangerous measures pursuing here, I can assure your Lordship, that it is entirely disregarded, if not wholly overturned. There is not a Justice of Peace in Virginia that acts, except as a committee man; the abolishing the Courts of Justice was the first step taken in which the men of fortune and pre-eminence joined equally with the lowest and meanest. The general Court of Judicature of the Colony is made in the same predicament; for though there are at least a majority in his Majesty's Council who, with myself, are the Judges of that Court, that would steadily perform their duty, yet the lawyers have absolutely refused to attend, nor indeed would the people allow them to attend, or evidence to appear. The reason commonly assigned for this proceeding is, the want of a fee-bill, which expired at the last session of the Assembly; and it is a popular argument here, that no power but the legislature can establish fees; and the fee-bill not having been renewed, is attributed to the dissolution; but the true cause of so many persons joining in so opprobrious a measure, was to engage their English creditors, who are numerous, to join in the clamours of this country; and not a few to avoid paying the debts in which many of the principal people here are much involved.*

"*With regard to the encouraging of these, as your Lordship likewise exhorts me, who appeared, in principle, averse to these proceedings, I hope your Lordship will do me the justice to believe, I have left no means in my power unessayed to draw all the assistance possible from them to his Majesty's government, but I presume your Lordship will not think it very extraordinary, that my persuasions should have been unavailing against the terrors which, on the other hand, are held out by the committee.*

"*Independent companies, &c. so universally supported, who have set themselves up superior to all authority, under the auspices of their Congress, the laws of which they talk of in a stile of respect, and treat with marks of reverence, which they never showed to their legal government, or the laws proceeding from it. I can assure your Lordship, that I have discovered no instance where the interposition of government, in the feeble state to which it is reduced, would serve any other purpose than to suffer the disgrace of disappointment, and thereby afford matter of greater exultation to its enemies, and increase their influence in the minds of the people.*

"*But, my Lord, every step which has been taken by these infatuated people must inevitably defeat their own purpose. Their non importation, non-exportation, &c. cannot fail, in a short time, to produce a scarcity which will ruin thousands of families: the people indeed of fortune may supply themselves and their negroes for two or three years, but the middling and poorer sort, who live from hand to mouth, have not the means of doing so, and the produce of their lands will not purchase those necessaries (without which themselves and negroes must starve) of the merchants who may have goods to dispose of, because the merchants are prevented from turning such produce to any account. As to manufacturing for themselves, the people of Virginia are very far from being naturally industrious; and it is not by taking away the principal, if not the only encouragement to industry, that it can be excited; nor is it in times of anarchy and confusion that the foundation of such improvements can be laid. The lowest class of people too will discover, that they have been duped by the richer sort, who, for their part, dread the whole effects of the association by which their neighbours perish. What then is to deter those from taking the shortest mode of supplying themselves? unrestrained as they are by laws, from taking whatever they want, wherever they can find it?*

"*The arbitrary proceedings of these committees, likewise, cannot fail of producing quarrels and disputations, which will raise partizans of government; and I am firmly persuaded that the Colony, even by their own acts and deeds, must be brought to see the necessity of depending on its mother country, and of embracing its authority.*"

March 4. Mr. Tompkyns attended yesterday at the House of Peers, with accounts of Exports and Imports from America.

Yesterday Lord North laid before the House of Commons several American papers, the titles of which were read by the Clerk, and the papers then ordered to lie on the table.

A report is current, that Sir Joseph Yorke will be recalled from the Hague to occupy a considerable American department.

An express is arrived from Italy with the melancholly account of the death of Mr. Dowdeswell, one of the knights of the shire for the county of Worcester, and the real patriot of the country.

The favourite title given to a great person by all the jacobites and tories, all the deserters of liberty, all the retainers of power, all the expectants of administration, &c. is the prerogative K[ing].

From the [London] Morning Post, of Feb. 23.

A VERY MATERIAL LETTER.

TAXATION and representation are said to be inseparable; in all free countries it is so, and the very idea of its being otherwise is repugnant to liberty. The impcsing, therefore, a tax on the Americans, in their present situation, is a gross offence to that constitution of which Englishmen boast and glory in. It would be tyranny that by force which wants the owners consent to grant: it would be a robbery supported by the sword, and the robbers would be answerable with their lives to England, for the injury done to the laws of freedom. Away, then, with all those idle tales which daily spring up in support of administration, disgraceful and disgusting to the primest part of our present legislature. Let the term Rebellion flow only from the lips of Scotsmen and tyrants. An honest Englishman knows no such word; and the Americans, so far from being rebels, are nobly resisting tyranny and intolerable, long attempted to be exerted over them, and, like our ancestors communed in Runnymead before King John, are standing up for liberty. Grant them that, agreeable to Magna Charta, and they will be on a level with us. At present they are not, because they are not represented; and whatever long columns those ministerial writers, Regulus, Hyæna'spes, Brecknock, and the Lord knows who, may give us in proof of the whole of their long-winded doctrine amounts to no more than this: America is right in its struggle, administration is tyrannic: and if its measures are not speedily softened, destruction and damnation will alight somewhere.

Your's, &c. *The* DEVIL *in a Passion.*

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(4) See Index, under Towns, Counties, Representatives, Assembly's, Congress, H. Com. Amendat. & Provincial Resolves, Petitions of the Counties, &c.

X See addresses to the King, page 710.

(5) See page 1050, Vol. 2.

(6) See Magna Charta, page 790, 1050, Vol. 2.

(7) See List of Grievances, pa. 971.

& The first Charter. ◊ See the Act pa. 721. ¶ See pa. 620. & See index, under Congress Continental. ◊ See pa. 606. (1) See pa. 513. ¶ See Pitt's speech, pa. 403 Vol. 1. — Camden's pa. 10, Vol. 2. (2) See Sea Act pa. 735, Vol. 1. — Molasses Act pa. 9 Vol. 2. & (3) See the pillars of the Constitution, magna Charta, pa. 790, 1050. — petition of right pa. 2 Vol. 2.

LONDON,

March 7. The petition from the city of Waterford, in the kingdom of Ireland, presented on Friday to the House of Commons, states among a variety of other things, that their exports consist chiefly of white and brown linens to America, and of salted beef, pork, and butter, to the West-India islands; that the imports from North America consist of flax-seed, lumber, wheat, and flour; and that the differences now subsisting between Great-Britain and that Continent, which has brought on the non-importation and non-exportation agreement in the several Colonies, will be productive of the several following alarming and ruinous consequences.

1. That the petitioners being cut off from their usual supplies of American flax-seed, will be rendered unable to carry on the linen manufacture.

2. That not having the means of raising flax, their linen manufactures must consequently be annihilated.

3. That though they should obtain flax from other countries, the commerce with America being stopped by the non-importation agreement, their manufactures must instantly fall to decay.

4. That being deprived of staves to make casks, their export provision trade must be destroyed, and both the navy of Great-Britain and the West-India islands be deprived of the means of subsistence with many great and manifest inconveniences.

And that on the whole such a train of consequences must be destructive to the landed property, manufactures, and commerce of the kingdom, and must occasion a very sensible diminution of his Majesty's revenues.

March 13. A Common-Council is ordered for to-morrow, and the Lord Mayor has inserted in the printed summons, "to consider of a petition to the House of Lords against an *unjust* and *inhuman* bill, which has passed the House of Commons, entitled, *A bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusetts-Bay*, &c. ☞

March 14. Yesterday the House of Commons read a first time the bill for restraining the trade of the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, under certain restrictions, and for a limited time, which was ordered to be printed, and read a second time on Thursday.

The Merchants and others, trading to North-America, met yesterday at the King's-Arms in Cornhill, and agreed unanimously upon a petition, which is to be signed and presented to the House of Lords this day, against the Bill passed in the Lower House, restraining the New-Englanders from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; and if this petition proves unsuccessful in the upper house, as a similar one has done in the lower, the Merchants have agreed upon a motion, which was put and seconded yesterday, that if the bill should also go through the House of Lords, an humble petition be drawn up to be presented to his Majesty, praying his Majesty will not give his assent to the bill. ☞ This motion was also carried nem. con. and then the business ended.

Extract of a letter from an officer in Cork, March 1.

"Most of the troops destined for America, are arrived here.—Would to God some conciliatory measures might be speedily adopted between Great-Britain and her Colonies, for both officers & men *never went upon an expedition with greater reluctance* than on the present intended one. I shudder at the consequences of being obliged to fight against our fellow subjects!"

On Tuesday last orders were sent to Scotland to delay the embarkation of some regiments on that establishment, which were intended for North-America.

March 17. Yesterday the Earl of Dartmouth laid before the house of peers, a letter from General Gage; the title was read by the clerk, and ordered to be laid on the table.

PORTSMOUTH, April 28.

It is proposed for the Consideration of all Americans, that the Memories of all such noble spirited Persons, who for the Liberties of this Country shall be so unfortunate as to fall in Battle, shall be honourably perpetuated to Posterity---that their Families shall be immediately and handsomely provided for---their Widows shall have a fixed Annuity for Life, which shall enable them to live as well as in their Husbands Life-time, and that their Children shall be provided for and educated at the public Expence.

Capt. Cowes, from Plymouth, sailed the 23d of March; in whom came Passengers, the Captains Salter, Ladd, Dunn and Brown.---50 or 60 Sail of Transports were preparing and some ready to proceed to Boston, with about Ten Thousand Troops, and several Men of War. ☞

To be LET,

THE House lately occupied by Mrs. Cottnam, near St. Peter's Church. Inquire of *Samuel Blyth*.

ALL Persons indebted to the Estate of Mr. BENJAMIN WILLIAMS, late of Salem, deceased, are desired to bring in their Claims to JOANNA WILLIAMS, Executrix to said Estate; and all Persons indebted to said Estate, are requested to make Payment, in Order for a speedy Settlement of said Estate.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, April 30, 1775.

WHEREAS an Agreement has been made between General *Gage* and the Inhabitants of the Town of *Boston*, for the Removal of the Persons and Effects of such of the Inhabitants of the Town of *Boston*, as may be so disposed, excepting their Fire-Arms and Ammunition, into the Country:——

Resolved, That any of the Inhabitants of this Colony, who may incline to go into the Town of *Boston*, with their Effects, Fire-Arms and Ammunition excepted, have Toleration for that Purpose, and that they be protected from any Injury or Insult whatsoever, in their Removal to *Boston*, and that this Resolve be immediately published.

JOSEPH WARREN, President P. T.

P. S. Offices are appointed for the giving Permits for the above Purposes, one at the Sign of the Sun at *Charlestown*, and another at the House of Mr. *John Greenleaf*, jun. in *Roxbury*.

JOSEPH WARREN, President P. T.
SAMUEL FREEMEN, Sec'y P. T.

GLOCESTER, May 1, 1775.

Last Tuesday arrived here, the Ship Boston Packet, Capt. Lyde, from London, in whom came Passenger our good Friend and worthy Patriot, JOSIAH QUINCY, jun. Esq; far gone with a Consumption, who was immediately visited by one of the Physicians of this Place, and other respectable Persons—but as he appeared to be actually expiring, no Assistance could be afforded him, & a few Hours put an End to a valuable Life. Great Care was taken by the Selectmen to forward to his Friends the Account of his Death, but, as through the Perplexity of the Times no Returns could be obtained from them, his Remains were Yesterday with great Respect interred in the public Burying Ground of this Place. ☞

SALEM, May 2.

Extract of a Letter, dated Newport, April 26, 1775.

"It is with Pleasure that I communicate to you, by Express, the following important Intelligence: By a Vessel just arrived here from New-York, we are informed that the News of the Engagement between the Regulars and the Provincials got to New-York on Sunday last between the Forenoon and Afternoon Service; that the People of the City immediately rose, disarmed the Soldiers, and possessed themselves of the Fort and Magazines, in which they found about 1500 Arms; that they unloaded two Transports bound to Boston; Capt. Montague not daring to give them the least Assistance; that a third Transport sailed while they were seizing the two others, and the People had fitted out a Vessel in order to take and bring her back; that they had forbid all Pilots from bringing up any King's Ships; that Capt. Montague was not able to procure a Pilot in the whole City; and that the Inhabitants were preparing and putting themselves in the best Posture of Defence.

"The Gentleman that brings this Intelligence left Elizabeth-Town Yesterday Morning, and tells us that the Committee of that Town and County met and agreed to raise one Thousand Men immediately, to assist in the Defence of New-York against any Attacks that may be made upon them.

"I have the Honour to assure you that this Intelligence may be depended upon."

Extract of a Letter from New-Hampshire, dated April 26, 1775.

"Before the Receipt of your Letter, Intelligence of the tragical Scene which has lately been acted in your Colony, by the regular Troops, had pierced the Ears of the Inhabitants of this; upon which many of our Men, fired with Zeal in the common Cause, and Resentment at the inhumane Cruelty, and savage Barbarity of the Action, instantly flew to your Assistance, and vast Numbers more were on their March." (2)

Extract of a Letter from Providence, April 27, 1775.

"Yesterday Mr John Brown, one of the principal Merchants of this Town, being at Newport, was seized upon in a Freight or Packet Boat coming to Providence. He was carried and confined on board a Man of War lying in Newport; and about 300 Barrels of Flour, in that Packet and another Freight Vessel, taken by the Ship of War. It is said the Captures are to be sent to Boston for Condemnation.——We are greatly alarmed at this open Force and Hostility."

Extract of a Letter from Connecticut, April 21, 1775.

"Every Preparation is making to support your Province.——The Ardour of our People is such, that they can't be kept back." (2)

Extract of a Letter from New-York, 24 April, 1775

"The late melancholly Accounts from Boston, have had a most excellent Effect in uniting the Inhabitants of this City, insomuch that we have been able to stop all Supplies from the Army, and have got Possession of the City Arms, and are now guarding the Powder and them."

We hear that the Letters lately wrote by Governor Hutchinson, are providentially in the Hands of the People; and, when published, will astonish every one, who has not before been thoroughly sensible of the evil Designs of that Man against the Liberties of this Country.

We can assure the Public, from the best Authority, that our Brethren of all the Colonies, which we have yet heard from, are firm and unshaken in their Attachment to the common Cause of America; and that they are now ready, with their Lives and Fortunes, to assist us in defeating the cruel Designs of our implacable Enemies. (4)

We have received no Particulars of the Transactions between General Gage and the Inhabitants of Boston. It is certain that the People have delivered up their Arms; very few of them have, however, been permitted to leave the Town, notwithstanding the Promise of the General. (1)

On the 19th of April was killed, among others, by the British Troops, at Menotomy, as he was courageously defending his Country's Rights, the good, the pious, and friendly Mr. DANIEL TOWNSEND, of Lynn-End. He was a constant and ready Friend to the Poor and Afflicted; a good Adviser in Case of Difficulty, and an able, mild and sincere Reprover of those who were out of the Way. In short, he was a Friend to his Country, a Blessing to Society, and an Ornament to the Church, of which he was a Member. He has left an amiable Consort, and five young Children, to bewail the Loss.

Lie, valiant Townsend, *in the peaceful Shades.—We trust*
Immortal Honours mingle with thy Dust,
What! tho' thy Body struggled in its Gore;
So did thy Saviour's Body long before!
And as he rais'd his own, by Power divine;
So the same Power shall also quicken thine,
And in eternal Glory, mayst thou shine.

DIED] At Andover, Mrs. Elizabeth Lovejoy, Wife of Capt. Nathaniel Lovejoy, aged 31.

Cambridge, April 26, 1775. *In Committee of Safety.*

DOCTOR Nathaniel Bond, of Marblehead, having been charged before this Committee with having acted an unfriendly Part to this Colony; said Committee appointed Joseph Warren, Esq; Col. Thomas Gardner, and Lieut. Col. Joseph Palmer, as a Court of Enquiry to examine Witnesses in the Case, and hear and determine the same: And upon full Enquiry into the Case, they are clearly of Opinion, that said Bond's general Behaviour, has been friendly to American Liberty; and though he may have discovered an imprudent Degree of Warmth in some Instances, yet we do not find any Proof of an inimical Temper or Disposition to this Country, and therefore recommend him to the Esteem and Friendship of his Country, that as the Error which occasioned his being brought before this Committee, appears to have been altogether involuntary, and was such as several of our most firm Friends were led into by false Rumours spread of the Transactions of the 19th (2) Instant) no Impressions to the Doctor's Disadvantage may remain on the Minds of any Person whatever.

JOSEPH WARREN, Chairman.

LOST out of a Waggon in Westborough, two Packs and a great Coat, also a Cartridge-Box and Powder Horn. The Packs contained two white Shirts, 1 check Shirt, a Pair of Stockings, some Provision, &c. &c. Whoever shall take up the above, and send them to Capt. Steadman's of Cambridge, shall be handsomely rewarded.

April 24, 1775. LEMUEL POMEROY.

N. B. It is very likely the Packs was by Mistake put into a wrong Waggon.

Just IMPORTED, and to be SOLD by

RICHARD DERBY, jun.

EXcellent Jamaica SUGAR by the Hogshead or Barrel; Jamaica and common RUM, and a small Parcel of dried HIDES.

To be LET, by

JOHN TURNER,

PAsturing on Baker's-Island, for Horses, Colts, &c. for the ensuing Season. A Tenant is wanted on said Island.

STRAYED or stolen from a Tavern in Medford, on Wednesday, 19th Instant, a black HORSE, with a Bridle and Saddle, about 14 Hands high, his Neck something short and Main thick, and poor withal. Whoever shall help the Subscriber to him again shall be well rewarded, and all necessary Charges paid by DAVID FELT.

Salem, May 1st, 1775.

THIS may certify, That about two Years ago Mr. JOHN PIEMONT came to dwell in the Town of Danvers, and was well recommended by the Selectmen of the Town of Boston; and though some Persons have called him a Tory, to his great Damage, yet we, as a Committee of Inspection for the Town of Danvers, have carefully examined into Mr. Piemont's Character, and are fully satisfied that he is a Friend to us in the common Cause of our Country, and we hope all our Friends will treat him as such, and call upon him for Entertainment, as he keeps a large public House in said Danvers.

S. HOLTEN,
ISRAEL HUTCHINSON,
AMOS PUTNAM,
WM. SHILLABER,
BENJ. PROCTER,
JONA. PROCTER,
WM. PUTNAM,
} Committee of Inspection for said Danvers.

Danvers, April 22d, 1775.

ASSIZE of BREAD in SALEM.. March 1, 1775.

	lb	oz	drs.
2 3ds of a Penny white Loaf	0	4	10
A Penny white Loaf	0	6	15
A Two-penny ditto	0	13	14
A Four-penny ditto	1	11	12

See Index, under Hutchinson

✓ See List of Grievances, pa. 971. ¶ See pa. 606. ☞ See the Bill, pa. 721. × The same as the Mass. Bill, pa. 721. ‖ See Indexes, under Troops. & See Indexes, under men of War. ¶ See in Index, under Congress provincial. (1) See pa. 766. & See Index, under Tunno Jonah. (2) See pa. 729. ✓ See Index, under Letters.

(Continued from the first page.)

parliaments always at Westminster, the haughty members for Great-Britain, muſt humble themſelves, one ſeſſion in four, to croſs the atlantic, and hold the parliament in America.

There is no avoiding all inconveniences in human affairs: The greateſt poſſible or conceivable, would ariſe from ceding to parliament all power over us, without a repreſentation in it: the next greateſt, would accrue from any plan that can be deviſed for a repreſentation there—The leaſt of all ariſe from going on as we begun, and fated well for 150 years, by letting parliament regulate trade, and our own aſſemblies all other matters.

As to "the prerogatives not being defined or limited," it is as much ſo in the Colonies as in G. Britain, and as well underſtood, and as cheerfully ſubmitted to in the former as the latter.

But "where is the Britiſh conſtitution, that we all agree we are intitled to?"—I anſwer, if we enjoy, and are entitled to more liberty than the Britiſh conſtitution allows, where is the harm? —Or if we enjoy the Britiſh conſtitution in greater purity and perfection than they do in England, as is really the caſe, whoſe fault is this? Not ours.

We may find all the bleſſings "of this conſtitution in our Provincial Aſſemblies."—Our Houſes of Repreſentatives have, and ought to exerciſe, every power of the houſe of Commons. The firſt Charter to this colony, is nothing to the preſent argument: but it did grant a power of taxing the people—implicitly, tho' not in expreſs terms. It granted all the rights and liberties of Engliſhmen, which include the power of taxing the people.

"Our Council Boards," in the royal governments, "are deſtitute of the noble independence and ſplendid appendages of peerage." Muſt certainly: They are the meereſt creatures and tools in the political creation.—Dependent every moment for their exiſtence on the tainted breath of a prime miniſter. But they have the authority of the houſe of lords, in our little models of the Engliſh conſtitution. And it is this which makes them ſo great a grievance. The crown has really, two branches of our legiſlatures in its power. —Let an act of parliament paſs at home, putting it in the power of the king, to remove any peer from the houſe of lords at his pleaſure, and what will become of the Britiſh conſtitution? It will be overturned from the foundation. Yet we are perpetually inſulted, by being told, that making our council by mandamus, brings us nearer to the Britiſh conſtitution. In this province, by charter, the council certainly hold their ſeats for the year, after being choſen and approved, independant of both the other branches.—For their creation, they are equally obliged to both the other branches; ſo that there is little or no bias in favour of either, if any, it is in favour of the prerogative. In ſhort, it is not eaſy without an hereditary nobility, to conſtitute a council more independant, more nearly reſembling the Houſe of Lords than the council of this province has ever been by Charter.—But perhaps it will be ſaid, that we are to enjoy the Britiſh conſtitution in our ſupreme legiſlature, the Parliament, not in our provincial legiſlatures.

To this I anſwer, if parliament is to be our ſupreme legiſlature, we ſhall be under a compleat oligarchy or ariſtocracy, not the Britiſh Conſtitution, which this writer himſelf defines a mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy and democracy.—For King, lords and commons, will conſtitue one great oligarchy, as they will ſtand related to America, as much as the Decemvirs did in Rome. With this difference for the worſe, that our rulers are to be three thouſand miles off.—The definition of an oligarchy, is a government by a number of grandees, over whom the people have no controul.—The ſtates of Holland were once choſen by the people frequently.—Then choſen for life.—Now they are not choſen by the people at all.—When a member dies, his place is filled up not by the people he is to repreſent, but by the ſtates. Is not this depriving the Hollanders of a free conſtitution, and ſubjecting them to an ariſtocracy, or oligarchy? Will not the government of America be like it?—Will not repreſentatives be choſen for them by others, whom they never ſaw nor heard of?—If our provincial conſtitutions are in any reſpect imperfect and want alteration, they have capacity enough to diſcern it, and power enough to effect it, without the interpoſition of parliament. There never was an American conſtitution attempted by parliament, before the Quebec Bill and Maſſachuſetts Bill—Theſe are ſuch *ſamples* of what they may and probably will be, that few Americans are in love with them.—However, America will never allow that parliament has any authority to alter their conſtitution at all.—She is wholly penetrated with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of reſiſting it, at all hazards. And ſhe would reſiſt it, if the conſtitution of the Maſſachuſetts had been altered as much for *the better*, as it is for the worſe.—The queſtion we inſiſt on moſt, is not whether the alteration is for the better or not, but whether parliament has any right to make any alteration at all.—And it is the univerſal ſenſe of America, that it has none.

We are told that "the provincial conſtitutions have no principle of ſtability within themſelves."—This is ſo great a miſtake, that there is not more order or ſtability in any government upon the globe, than there ever has been in that of Connecticut.—The ſame may be ſaid of the Maſſachuſetts and Penſylvania,—and indeed of the others, very nearly.—"That theſe conſtitutions in turbulent times would become wholly monarchial or wholly republican." They muſt be ſuch times as would have a ſimilar effect upon the conſtitution at home.—But in order to avoid the danger of this, what is to be done.—Not give us an Engliſh conſtitution, it ſeems, but make ſure of us at once, by giving us conſtitutions wholly monarchical, annihilating our houſes of repreſentatives firſt, by taking from them the ſupport of government, &c. and then making the councils and judges wholly dependent on the crown.

That a repreſentation in parliament is impracticable we all agree: but the conſequence is, that we muſt have a repreſentation in our ſupreme legiſlatures here. This was the conſequence that was drawn by kings, miniſters, our anceſtors, and the whole nation, more than a century ago, when the colonies were firſt ſettled, and continued to be the general ſenſe until the laſt peace, and it muſt be the general ſenſe again ſoon, or Great-Britain will loſe her colonies.

"This is apparently the meaning of that celebrated paſſage in Gov. Hutchinſon's letter, that rung through the continent, viz. "There muſt be an abridgment of what is called Engliſh liberties."—But all the art and ſubtlety of Maſſachuſettenſis will never vindicate or excuſe that expreſſion—According to this writer, it ſhould have been "there is an abridgment of Engliſh liberties and it can't be otherwiſe." But every candid reader muſt ſee that the letter writer had more than that in his *view* and in his *wiſhes*.—In the ſame letter, a little before, he ſays, "what marks of reſentment the parliament will ſhew, whether they will be upon the province in general or particular perſons, is extremely uncertain; but that they will be placed ſomewhere is moſt certain, and I add, *becauſe I think it ought to be ſo.*" Is it poſſible to read this without thinking of the port bill, the charter bill, and the reſolves for ſending perſons to England by the ſtatute of H. 8, to be tried?—But this is not all. "This is moſt certainly a criſis," ſays he, &c.—"if no meaſure ſhall have been taken to ſecure this dependence (i. e. the dependence which a colony ought to have upon the parent ſtate) it is all over with us." "The friends of government will be utterly diſheartned, and the friends of anarchy will be afraid of nothing, be it ever ſo extravagant"—but this is not all. "I never think of the meaſures neceſſary for the peace and good order of the colonies without pain." "There muſt be an abridgment of what are called Engliſh liberties."—What could he mean? Any thing leſs than depriving us of trial by jury? Perhaps he wanted an act of parliament to try perſons here for treaſon by a court of admiralty.—Perhaps an act that the province ſhould be governed by a governor and a mandamus council, without an houſe of repreſentatives.—But to put it out of all doubt that his meaning was much worſe than Maſſachuſettenſis endeavours to make it, he explains himſelf in a ſubſequent part of the letter. "I wiſh, ſays he, the good of the colony, *when I wiſh to ſee ſome further reſtraint of liberty.*" Here it is rendered certain, that he is pleading for a further reſtraint of liberty, not explaining the reſtraint, he apprehended the conſtitution had already laid us under.

My indignation at this letter, has ſometimes been ſoftened by compaſſion.—It carries on the face of it, evident marks of *madneſs*.—It was written in ſuch a tranſport of paſſions, *ambition*, and *revenge* chiefly, that his reaſon was manifeſtly overpowered. The veſſel was toſt in ſuch a hurricane, that ſhe could not feel her helm.—Indeed he ſeems to have had a confuſed conſciouſneſs of this himſelf.—Pardon me this excurſion, ſays he, it really proceeds from the ſtate of mind into which our perplexed affairs often throws me.

"It is our higheſt intereſt to continue a part of the Britiſh empire, and equally our duty to remain ſubject to the authority of parliament," ſays Maſſachuſettenſis.

We are a part of the Britiſh dominions, that is of the king of Great-Britain, and it is our intereſt and duty to continue ſo.——It is equally our intereſt and duty to continue ſubject to the authority of parliament, in the regulation of our trade, as long as ſhe ſhall leave us to govern our internal policy, and to give and grant our own money, and no longer.

This letter concludes with an agreeable flight of fancy. The time may not be ſo far off, however, as this writer imagines, when the colonies may have the balance of numbers and wealth in her favour.—But when that ſhall happen, if we ſhould attempt to rule her by an American parliament, without an adequate repreſentation in it, ſhe will infallibly reſiſt us by her arms.

NOVANGLUS.

(To be continued)

NEW-YORK, April 10.

Nothing more can evince the Utility of the Colonies to the Mother Country, than, that in leſs than 12 Months, Three Millions of Buſhels of Wheat have been exported from this Continent to England alone, beſides Flour.

By a Gentleman who left Montreal the 13th of laſt Month, we have the following Advices, viz.—That upwards of 1200 of the Inhabitants of that Place (chiefly French) had ſigned a Petition to his Majeſty, for the Repeal of the Quebec Bill, lately paſſed in the Britiſh Parliament, for the new Regulation of the Government of that Province; and that it was not doubted but that the Petition would be ſigned almoſt univerſally by all the People in the whole Province. That at Quebec great Pains had been taken by the miniſterial Agents, to procure an Addreſs of Thanks to the King and Parliament, for framing and paſſing theſe Laws, but that only 20 Signers could be procured to the ſaid Addreſs.

On the Report of a Deſign to form an Army in Canada to join the King's regular Forces in fighting againſt and enſlaving the other Britiſh Colonies; the Canadians were greatly alarmed, and took the beſt Method in their Power to ſecure themſelves from the hateful Service.—And as by the Laws of France, married Men cannot be compelled to ſerve in the Militia, the Canadians conſidered Marriage as a Proteſtion, to which, ſince their new Laws they have ſo univerſally had recourſe, that it is ſaid there is hardly an unmarried man to be found in all the country.

WM. and JOHN LAWSON,

Black and White-Smith,

BEG Leave to take this Method to inform the Public, that they now carry on their Buſineſs in the Shop formerly occupied by James Bott. William undertakes Gun-work, Jack-work, and all other Houſehold Smith-work. John undertakes Horſe-ſhoeing and Horſes-farrying in all its various Branches; alſo Coach and Chaiſe work. So that thoſe who are pleaſed to favour them with their Work, may depend upon having it done in the beſt and neateſt Manner, and ſpeedily executed.

N. B. They alſo make Edge Tools of all Sorts.

Iron Hollow WARE.

A general Aſſortment of Iron hollow Ware,

TO BE SOLD

At *Benjamin Andrews's* Store,

Near Derby's Wharf.

Alſo Nova-Scotia Grindſtones, Anchors, and Graplins, and a few Bags exceeding good Cotton Wool.

JUST IMPORTED, in the Venus, from LONDON, And to be SOLD by

W. P. BARTLETT,

At his Shop in Queer-Street, SALEM,

A freſh Aſſortment of GARDEN SEEDS, VIZ.

EArly golden Hotſpur Peas	Coſs Lettice
Early charlton ditto	Marble ditto
Ormonds ditto	Round ſpinnage
Large Marrowfats	Prickley ditto
Dwarf ditto	Red Beet
Spaniſh Morattees	Green ditto
Black eyed ſugar Peas	White ditto
Crooked ſugar ditto	Upright Cellery
Ramshorns ditto	Solid ditto
White Rouncivals	White Muſtard
Blue Union Peas	Double Parſley
Early Liſbon Beans	Single ditto
Large windſor ditto	Aſparagus
Early white kidney ditto	Early Colliflower
Early yellow both ditto	Early batterſea Cabbage
Speckled ditto	Early low Dutch ditto
White Spaniſh Onion	Early Yorkſhire ditto
Red Portugal ditto	Early ſugar-loaf ditto
Yellow Spaniſh ditto	Large winter and red Cabbage
Lemmon Carrot	Green and yellow curl'd Savoy
Orange ditto	Early prickley Cucumber
Purple ditto	Long green ditto
Beſt ſwelling Parſnip	Long Roman ditto
Early Dutch Turnip	Water Mellon Muſk Mellon
Long French ditto	Double pot Marygold
Turnip Radiſh	Sweet Marjoram
Scarlet ditto	Summer Savory
Crimſon ditto	Winter ditto
Black Spaniſh ditto	Thyme
True ſcrriſeball Lettice	Mace, Hemp and Canary Seed
Head Lettice	Fowl Meadow
	Herd's Graſs and Clover.

☞ See the whole of the above, with the proper references, page 686, &c.

V See the act, pa. 559. ¶ See list of Grievances, pa. 971. ‖ See indexes, under Groom.